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TABLE 12

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO SOFIA, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934 CENSUS*

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FREQUENCY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Daily:	37	1	13.9	0.4
Weekly:				
4 times	7	1	2.6	0.4
3 times	9	2	3.4	0.7
2 times	17	4	6.4	1.5
1 time	113	99	42.5	37.5
Monthly:				
3 times	8	9	3.0	3.4
2 times	14	26	5.3	9.9
1 time	35	58	13.2	22.0
Yearly:				
4 times	7	16	2.6	6.1
3 times	1	3	0.4	1.1
2 times	3	2	1.1	0.7
1 time	0	4	0.0	1.5
No times	15	39	5.6	14.8
Total	266	264	100.0	100.0

*Unreported: 3 male, 3 female.

The above table, based on the trips of the family heads, reveals the frequency of trips to Sofia: 484

The table* shows that thirty-three male heads go to Sofia oftener than once a week. The great exodus comes on Friday, the market day. The peasants' childlike anticipation of market-day is best symbolized by the wagons which stand already loaded in front of the gates on Thursday evening. All that is necessary in the dim light on Friday morning is the yoking of the sleepy oxen, before the families start on their way to Sofia. I went with the villagers on these expeditions and saw their "ports of call," each visited via back streets and not by any handsome boulevards.

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*At the time of the government census in December, 1934, I received permission to add to the regular census blanks a questionnaire of my own dealing chiefly with social contacts. Every family head was required to appear before one of the local clerks and answer all questions on the blanks, the writing being done by the clerk. Many of my statistics in this article are based on these questionnaires which, in the person of family heads, represented 97 per cent of the population.

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Cattle market: The cattle market and the sheep market, located not far away, lie on the other side of Sofia from Dragalevtsy, back of the railroad station toward the municipal cemetery. It is there a peasant goes if he wishes to dispose of, or purchase, an animal. At this market a nice young bull costs $25-$30, a fresh buffalo cow, $50-$60; ordinary milch cows, $35-$45; horses, $12-$60; donkeys, $12-$18. In the sheep market a pair of sheep sell for $3.60. The cattle market is a colorful place. There is much excitement in the horse section where gypsies ride their not-so-fiery steeds up and down to show how sound they are. But the peasant does little visiting with others in the market; he is not the kind to strike up an acquaintance with just anyone. He does deal with the nimble-witted cattle-buyers whose crafty ways stand for city ways in the peasant's undiscerning judgment. In other words, the peasant's contact with "the outside world" in the cattle market helps build up a psychological barrier against the city since the peasant seldom leaves feeling that he has made a good bargain, unless he has concluded a trade with another peasant more rustic than himself.

The mill: A second place the peasant is likely to visit is the mill, not far away from the general curb market. In spite of the fact that there are many mills in Sofia the people of Dragalevtsy have chosen this as their favorite one, with another ranking as second choice. If they are tired out after their trip to the mill, the villagers lie down on sacks of grain until their turns come; if not sleepy, the peasants form talkative groups near their unyoked animals in the mill courtyard. But here again we find peasant talking with peasant, much of the conversation condemning the modern times, some government policy, or the sad effects of the World War. A talk with a conservative peasant from another village merely heightens the conservatism in the Dragalevtsy peasant.

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Curb market: After finishing at the mill the peasant will perhaps go to the General Curb Market where his wife, squatted on the sidewalk, has been crying her wares for hours in the hope of selling a few bunches of vegetables or several "pairs" of eggs. She has seen many enticing objects in the vendors' pushcarts, observed the styles* worn by city housewives accompanied by peasant servant-girls, the strut of the military, the bizarre appearance of a foreign tourist in knickers taking pictures of the scene. She must also have talked to other peasant women who, like herself, return to a favorite spot week after week. But the question arises: Do all the men usually take their wives along? Is it usually a family affair, this trip to market? The answer is that between fifty and sixty per cent of the female heads go to Sofia on a typical market day; fifteen per cent never go at all.

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*The chief tailor in Dragalevtsy says that styles in dress reach the peasants from other villages. The women, for instance, imitate what a peasant from another village wears, but not what a city woman wears.

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Flower bazaar and tavern: It is around the fourth destination on Fridays that fondest memories cling, because this is the spot near the Sofia flower bazaar where young people from surrounding villages go upon completing their morning duties in town. It is here that romance blossoms and young men from one village are introduced to girls from another. While the younger people are amusing themselves here the older people, especially the men, gather at the tavern called *Dulgata Mehana*, the particular establishment to which Dragalevtsy peasants are loyal.[7] They lunch and drink here, they rest here, and here they swap their stories. Nor is it without pride that they tell how Fiodor Chaliapin, the celebrated opera singer, in 1934 spent a very merry evening in this *Dulgata Mehana*, enjoying its drink and atmosphere. Seldom, however, does the peasant get to converse with the Sofia citizenry in this tavern. Here again he is in a peasant world; if he were not, he would feel decidedly uncomfortable. Should he decide to see a movie, in the afternoon he would go to a cheap theater on a side street and guffaw with his fellow peasants.[8]

2. To Serve His Country. The *trudova* system, or that of compulsory labor for the young men of Bulgaria, has received much attention in the West. It served a magnificent purpose, taking as it did young men from villages throughout the land, mixing them up in labor camps, and providing them with picks and shovels for the construction of highways, bridges, and other public works. But now the young Bulgarian citizen is given military training instead. This is not in keeping with the Treaty of Neuilly, which limited Bulgaria's armed forces to 33,000, but what nation in Europe, the Bulgarians ask, has been abiding by the treaties? The trend from *trudova* to military service is shown by the fact that in 1935 not a single youth was called from Dragalevtsy to do *trudova* service, but sixteen went to be trained as soldiers.

The effect of life in a labor camp or a military barracks upon the young men is apparent upon their return to the village. They have gone out from a family system where each member works unquestioningly as a part of the whole; they return, in spite of military discipline, often very conscious of their own individuality, and have to pass through a process of reconditioning before the early customs, habits, and patterns of thought again close in about them. However, before the returning young men are reabsorbed by the community, reverberations of struggle are felt throughout parts of the social structure. There are some who never again fall completely into line and who naturally

[7] Every village over a period of years has tended to select one tavern where peasants from that village spend their leisure time while in Sofia.

[8] Fifty-five per cent of the villagers (babies, children, and adults) have never seen a cinema. Out of 265 families reporting, *all* members of 73 families had seen a cinema; *no* members of 78 families had done so.

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156 turn to Sofia for employment and sympathy. But the significant fact is that
702 most young people do submit to the process of resocialization and as they grow older adopt the conservatism of their elders. In other words, no attempt is made in the army experience to teach them new farming methods, bee-keeping, animal breeding, or anything else which they might apply in a useful way upon their return to the village.

554 3. For the Good of His Soul. When asked "Why do you go on pil-
788 grimages to various Bulgarian monasteries?" the peasants often answer: "We go for the good of our souls." No mention is made of the enhanced social
● 484 status that is theirs as a result of such a trip or the excitement of being sped on their way at the edge of the village by the priest and a flock of relatives or welcomed back far outside the village by the same relatives two or three days later. The most popular place to visit is Rila Monastery, the historic, magnificent establishment in the heart of the Rila Mountains to which thousands come at Easter time. The Dragalevtsy peasants (only thirty-five from the village went in 1934) mix with the assembled multitudes at Rila, attend the services, buy sacred objects, and snatch what sleep they can before starting on the return journey. If they are walking, the pilgrimage requires five or six days; if they go by automobile from Sofia, they spend one day en route each way. In olden days pilgrimages played a great part in creating social contacts between the villages and the outside world. Now we can safely conclude that as other means of making social contact increase, the importance of making pilgrimages decreases.

484 4. To Visit Socially. Once a year a Bulgarian village has an "At Home
574 Day." This event always falls on the name day of the saint, angel, or member of the Trinity for whom the local church is named and is commemorated by the preparation of immense quantities of stews for the few hundred guests from outside. Many of these guests are old residents returning with their families for a visit. There is a special service at which bread and boiled corn is blessed, the priest in return receiving a portion of the food. At the meal afterwards, to which all guests are invited, pledges are made for the upkeep of the local church. Many guests would rather go to the homes of friends and relatives than partake of the common meal; this makes more intimate visitation possible. These "At Homes" of neighboring villages are the chief attractions drawing the peasants from Dragalevtsy to other villages. Table 13 on the following page shows us how often Dragalevtsy family heads visit other villages (for the "At Home" as well as other purposes).

484 Combining the data in this table with other information obtained we can make the following conclusions regarding the social visits of Dragalevtsy people to other villages:

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TABLE 13

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS TO VILLAGES, MALE AND FEMALE FAMILY HEADS, DRAGALEVTSY, 1934*

FREQUENCY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Monthly:				
6 times	2	0	0.8	0.0
5 times	0	2	0.0	0.8
4 times	2	4	0.8	1.6
3 times	3	2	1.2	0.8
2 times	8	9	3.1	3.5
1 time	68	52	26.4	20.3
Yearly:				
6 times	4	8	1.5	3.1
5 times	2	3	0.8	1.2
4 times	14	8	5.4	3.1
3 times	21	17	8.1	6.7
2 times	13	19	5.0	7.4
1 time	8	8	3.1	3.1
No times	113	124	43.8	48.4
Total	258	256	100.0	100.0

*Unreported: 11 males, 11 females.

Roughly speaking, about half of the family heads (men and women) do not go to other villages in the course of a year. For those who go, the greatest frequency of visitation is once a month.

Men born in Dragalevtsy visit the other villages more than do their fellow-villagers not born in Dragalevtsy; however, women born in Dragalevtsy visit less than those born outside.*

Children seldom go with their parents to other villages, though certain young men make numerous visits to parties during the year.

There are other contacts which the peasant makes with the outside world away from the village, but these are not important enough for separate consideration. There is, for instance, "the iron grip of the law." Since the mores of Dragalevtsy are still strictly observed, no criminals were led off to prison from the jail-less village during the three-year period in which I studied Dragalevtsy. Annually there are four or five lawsuits, involving about thirty people and taking on an average ten days' time for each person. For those

*Eighty-three per cent of the male family heads but only 55 per cent of the female heads were born in Dragalevtsy. The 45 per cent of non-native wives come from villages ranging in distance from two to ten miles.